

IRISH

RESISTANCE
TO BRITISH
AGGRESSION.

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THE Irish people have been given in the last few weeks statements from the leaders of all the political parties in Ireland, north and south, on their attitude and policy in regard to the British *occupation* of a portion of our country which they enphemistically call "partition."

Now that all have spoken it appears to those whose task it is to guide the Irish Republican Army that the Irish people are entitled to a statement from them on their principles and policy and on the view they take of the continued presence on Irish soil of a British army of occupation.

The "Better Government of Ireland Act" passed in Westminster in 1920 divided our country in two and left Britain in direct control and in military possession of the six north-eastern counties.

No Irishman of any shade of political views voted for this Act and the military powers of defence of the Six Counties were reserved to Britain so that the continued occupation of that territory was assured no matter what type of government might evolve in the area; as Mr. Lloyd George made quite clear in a letter to Lord Craigavan: "*Ulster, whether she wills it or not, must not be allowed merge with the rest of Ireland.*"

The Act which divided Ireland into two States set up the Free State of 26 counties and the State of "Northern Ireland" composed of the six north-eastern counties.

THE principle which Republicans have held down through the years has been that England had no right to legislate for Ireland, that England had no right to set up there two States and since they were founded on the "Better Government of Ireland Act" no Republican could give allegiance to either of them without a breach of principle; no matter what internal changes may have been brought about in either or both.

The constitutional changes in the 26-County State have made no change in the principle involved and the declaration of a Republic which recognised the unnatural division of our country and expressed only a pious hope for future re-integration did nothing more than make confusion more confounded and the glib use of such terms as "freedom in this part of Ireland" has served

only to lull the youth of the country into a false sense of national well-being.

THE stand Republicans have always taken is that Ireland is a single entity and that it is as great an insult to the people of the 26 Counties to have the Tricolour and the National Anthem banned in Belfast as if the same ban were in force all over Ireland.

As long as one square foot of Irish soil is occupied by a foreign army Ireland cannot be said to be free, and the ideals of our patriot dead have not been realised, and as long as that army of occupation hold a part of our country by naked force it is idle to express hopes for unification somewhere in the distant future and an illusion to think that Britain, who never gave anything to anybody except under duress, will suffer a change of heart and in a burst of magnanimity will hand back that portion of our country which she has annexed by force and holds with an army of occupation.

IN the long years since the British first invaded our country each generation has been faced with the problem of attaining freedom and in every age young men have been found who were prepared to work and suffer, to fight and, if necessary, to die to achieve the ideal of a free Ireland. Conflict has inevitably arisen between those imbued with this ideal and the old conservative politicians who had nothing to offer except vain hopes and specious premises.

The men and women of the last generation will remember how the conflict arose between the Irish Volunteers and the Parliamentarians of that day who held that while England was embarrassed by war Irishmen should not press their demands for freedom. They will remember that they had to choose between the "elected representatives of the Irish people" in Westminster who were prepared to stand hat in hand before their masters and beg for a measure of freedom, and the Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army whose proclamation of the Republic in 1916 began what was probably the most glorious period of resurgence in the history of our country. They will remember that the "elected representatives of the Irish people" condemned the Rising as foolish and criminal and applauded the execution of the sixteen leaders whose names will live

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when the doubtful fame of the politicians is lost in merciful oblivion.

THE history of Ireland has been made up of short periods of national resurgence followed by long years of disillusion, bitterness and political intrigue. But in the long bitter years between the periods of resurgence that "voice crying in the wilderness" has never been wanting—the one or two unrepentant idealists who, in the face of all the pomp and circumstances of parliamentary and political futility, have proclaimed the truth and have undergone imprisonment and death rather than accept the shame and the lie.

So too was the resurgent period of 1916 to 1922 followed by the long bitter years when the people once more placed their trust in the professional politicians who promised and promised but promised without performance.

In the years since 1922 the apparent differences between the political parties in the 26-County State have become less and less until we have eventually reached the state of almost complete unanimity on that greatest of national evils—the continued occupation of part of our country by a British Army.

In Leinster House and at their party conventions they have stated their views. They will do nothing to end it and they can do no more than express the hope that at some unspecified time in the future the Orangemen will ask for a United Ireland.

BUT there are men in the occupied territory who are not satisfied with this policy of *laissez faire*. There are men under the heel of British tyranny who are not satisfied to wait twenty or thirty or forty years for that most unlikely change of heart on which the professional politicians base their hopes for a united Ireland.

These young men and their comrades throughout Ireland who are pledged with them to wrest freedom from the enemy by force of arms raise once more the standard of revolt against oppression and they call on the people of all Ireland for support.

The people of Ireland stand once more at the historical crossroads. Once more for them the

hour of decision is at hand. Once more they are asked to decide whether they will give support to those whose only policy is one of mealy-mouthed appeasement and placation or to the men who are pledged to the doctrine of Tone and Emmet and Pearse.

THE task is too great a one to be left to the young men in the Six Counties and it should be an insult to the generation which have learnt with pride of the gallant fight made by their fathers and uncles over thirty years ago to be told now that there was no place for them in the line of battle and that while their blood brothers in the six occupied counties fight for freedom that they should stay at home and depend on the "elected representatives" of our day to beg for some measure of freedom from the enemies of our country.

The issue is clear and the recent statements of the politicians have made it clearer. It is now for the plain people to make their decision. They can choose to follow the advice of the "elected representatives" of our day who, for thirty years, have done nothing and now declare with a shameful unanimity that they are prepared to do nothing, or they can stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are showing the wisdom of Pearse's words when he spoke of that miracle which ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation.

ATTEMPTS will be made to misrepresent the ideals and policy and to cast doubts on the wisdom of those who proclaim the old truths and give allegiance to the old cause. Already attempts are being made to stampede the people by starting rumours of civil war and internal disturbance in the 26 Counties. Let no one be deceived by the calculated calumnies of those whose only policy is to stay in power. Let no one fear for one moment that those who are pledged to fight for the freedom of Ireland will raise their hand against any fellow Irishman.

The enemy now is the age-old enemy—England and England's army of occupation in Ireland. Let there be no misconception in the mind of anyone. Let it be clearly understood that the British army of occupation is not in Ireland for Ireland's good or for the good of the Irish people. Britain occupies our country because the

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"Northern Bridgehead" is too valuable to her in time of war to be allowed slip easily through her fingers and the occupation and exploitation is as much to the detriment of the unionist population as the nationalist.

It is but right that this should be pointed out clearly to the unionists of every class and creed and an appeal be made to them, be they plain civilians, members of the R.U.C. or of the B Specials, to stand aside and refuse to become embroiled in the conflict between the foreign forces of oppression and the volunteer soldiers of the Irish Republican Army. No Irishman of any creed, class or political persuasion has anything to fear from the I.R.A. as long as he gives his first allegiance to our common Fatherland:

"We are one at heart if you be Ireland's friend,
Though miles apart our policies may trend,
There are but two great parties in the end."

THE Irish Republican Army has a carefully planned and progressive policy of opposition to the British occupation forces in the Six Counties and any type of aggressive military action in the 26-County area has been decisively ruled out of the scheme. All attempts to provoke unwise or precipitate action will be recognised as such and steadfastly ignored by those who know only one enemy—England, and who will refuse to be provoked into bringing discredit on the cause which they serve. It is the responsibility of the people of Ireland to see to it that those "elected representatives" who claim to act in their name do not sabotage the efforts of the inheritors of the Fenian faith in what will, with God's help, be the last and victorious phase of a struggle that has lasted only too long.

RECENT military operations carried out by the Irish Republican Army have been condemned by certain politicians as "isolated acts of violence" etc. The point which has apparently been lost on those who condemn is that these operations were not carried out for propaganda purposes. The successful raid in Armagh and the unsuccessful, but by no means discreditable operation in Omagh were made solely for the purpose of capturing arms from the enemy for use in the hands of those who are pledged to fight the British.

If sufficient financial support were forthcoming

it would not be necessary to resort to such hazardous means to arm the resurgent youth of Ireland. But until that support is available it will be necessary to risk the lives, limbs and liberty of our bravest sons to replace the deficiency.

In spite of the condemnations of the politicians, in spite of the doubts of the "elected representatives," there must be some spark deep down in the soul of every Irishman worthy of the name, which burst into flame at the proof that the age-old enemy had once more misjudged the temper of the men of Ireland and that there are rising up among them young men of the same calibre as those who stood in the Bearnna Baoghaol in every generation.

THE people of Ireland have a decision to make. Let them think well on it, because they will stand at the bar of history to answer for it and let it not be said of this generation that they failed those who once again have hurled defiance at the crumbling ramparts of that imperial and blood-stained power which for so long kept our country under the iron heel of oppression.

England still holds part of our land by force and in the eight hundred years of occupation never once has she given the slightest measure of amelioration except under force or the threat of force.

The dispassionate logical conclusion to be drawn from the history of the two countries is that Ireland can only achieve unity and freedom when the whole people of Ireland tell the British Army to get out or be driven out.

With charity towards all, with malice towards none, the Irish Republican Army looks forward with quiet confidence to the struggle that lies ahead. The trained, armed, disciplined and resolute soldiers of freedom pledge themselves once more to the task and asking God's blessing on their arms appeal to the people of Ireland to stand by them and to achieve with them the ideal which has shone so brightly and so steadily in the dreams and hopes of our people.

"In the name of God and of the dead generations Ireland, through us summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom."